CONTENTS

Acknowledgments ix
Introduction: A Conservative Agenda 1

PART ONE: Anguish

1. The Omnipresent Conspiracy: Imageries of Politics and Social Relations in the 1930s 15
   Constructing Conspirators, 16 / Believing the Unbelievable, 23 / Enemies within the Establishment and among the People, 30

2. Catching Spies, Trapping the System 38
   Suspects, Metaphors, Analogies, 40 / Spies Everywhere, 46 / Data, Successes, Blunders, 50 / Spying on Spies, Beheading the Services, 57 / Trapping Post-Soviet Russia, 61

3. Between the Catastrophe and the Promised Land: Public Mood, Popular Hopes, Elite Fears, and Mass Terror 64
   Words Worth Noting versus Suspect Records, 64 / Fears and Reactions, 67 / Vocal Citizens, Worried Officials, 70 / Sudden Clampdown, Blind Terror, 73 / Vanishing Agitators, Multiplying Thieves, Intractable Shirkers, 80

PART TWO: Anger

4. From Revolution to Daily Routine: Endemic Violence, Suspicious Youth, Angry Bolsheviks 87
   At the Receiving End, 89 / Accepting and Abhorring Force, 95 / Destruction and Self-Destruction, 97 / Executioners and Waifs of the Revolution, 102

5. Citizens between Indignation and Resignation: Loyalty and Lost Hope 111
   Ambiguities, 112 / Ambivalent Loyalty, 114 / Grievances, Musings, and the Course of History, 117 / The March of Progress and Sharp Turns, 122 / Enraged Loyalty, 126 / Party Doctrine, Popular Faith, 125 / Resigned Compromise, 130
6. Rebels  135


PART THREE: Folkways

7. Breaking Step, Enjoying Carnival: Unorthodox Folklore  189

Noisy Conviviality, 192 / “Girls, Vodka, and Snacks,” 195 / Profanation of the Bolshevik Cult, 198 / Rumors, Curses, Jokes, and Broken Idols, 202 / From Irreverent Verses to Gestures of Revolt, 207 / Sublimating Passions, Closing Eyes, 212

8. Exploring Frontiers: Entrepreneurship, Continuities, and Changes  217

Scarce Goods, Large Demand, New Institutions, 218 / Poor Administrations, Inventive Officials, 228 / Marketplaces and Survival Strategies, 230 / Managerial Practices versus Industrial Policies, 234 / New Challenges, New Opportunities, 235 / Tapping Symbolic Capital, 238 / A System Does Away with a Regime, 244

9. Virtuous Girls Building a Sinful World: Misadventures of Modernity, Limits of the Thinkable, and the Politics of Folkways  249


Epilogue: Dilemmas of History  297

Notes  301

Selected Bibliography  383

Index  393